2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilineality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, tenientes políticos, alcaldes, comisarios, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indian Braven were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The priest married them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth, but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home. Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed

upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage. 800

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's 831
entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a
girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is
not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this
phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls
are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual dis-
charge /suúsa/ /su/ 'vagina', 'usa/ 'blood,' first ap-
pears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, 841
but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual
discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and
the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work
in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The
women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other
discomfort during catomenia.

Household. Relations within the family tend to 593
be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke
with each other and with the children. The children [847]
are taught to respect their parents and other relatives,
but no special behavior is expected for different kinds
of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings
will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister

tics are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together.

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children.

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiesta she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the withdrawal.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Marianico Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camarones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Bolona on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he set some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when tagua was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred sucres to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ɛ̃in^{y}a/, 'sister's son.'

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One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small rancho on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became

who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Tayuyas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variations on this basic theme.

As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /bá.tala/, means 'some together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Buru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rapids, up the Río Cameronas, on which were some rubber trees. Buru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

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off with the loten. Nuru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Nuru. But they are three brothers, and the /ʔaŋ'ʊ/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Ñape and two Negroes, Estupiñán and Manuel Caicedo. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Nuru Cisneros had noticed that the trees were tagged and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiqueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tagged by Chapiro. Nuru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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